

does away with the 30-year-old requirement that States offer family planning services to all AFDC recipients.

Meanwhile, in just the past decade the percentage of all children born in the United States out of wedlock has doubled, more than doubled, to 32 percent. Thirty-two percent of all the babies born in this country are born out of wedlock, and there is nothing in this so-called reform bill that even tries to deal with this enormous problem.

Mr. Speaker, for these reasons and many others, the Personal Responsibility Act requires the lengthy debate that this rule provides. We support the rule and urge our colleagues to approve it so that we may proceed with consideration of this important and controversial legislation today.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the fine gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING], the chairman of the com-

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

This is probably the most important debate and perhaps the most important issue that we will face, perhaps during my lifetime, certainly the most important since I have been in the Congress of the United States.

What is at stake? Well, basically, what is at stake is this: What do we do to free millions of Americans from the shackles that the Federal Government has placed them in? All of the programs were well meaning. Over the years I sat behind several chairmen, one who used to say, "Bill, these programs just aren't working the way we had intended them." And that is true. So year after year, generation after generation, we have enslaved these people, so, unless we make a change, they will never have an opportunity to get part of that American dream. That is destructive to them. That is destructive to our society and to our country.

Making changes is very, very difficult. Change is something that people fear, and that is true in no place worse than in the Congress of the United States. But if we do not change, then, of course, we are going to continue to enslave the very people we have sent over \$5 trillion to try to help. Year after year we will be doing this, and it is totally unfair to hose people in our society.

So it would be my hope that we get away from the rhetoric and pay a little attention to the facts and see whether we can do better than we have done in the past. I think those people that we have tried to help are depending on us to make that change.

The first thing we have to do is admit that we failed. That should not be so difficult. It does not matter which side of the aisle we sit on. Just passing more programs and more programs and adding more money and more money has not worked. It has disadvantaged the disadvantaged. So it is time to make that change. An alco-

holic has to admit that he has that problem before we can ever do anything to help him or for him to help himself to a recovery. It is true of any other drug addict. It is equally as true with the legislation we are dealing with today.

So I would call on my colleagues to listen carefully and participate intelligently. Let us not get up and give a lot rhetoric that has nothing to do with the facts. We know the facts. We know the facts of how we failed, and we know the facts of what it is we are trying to do to see whether we can help the most vulnerable in this country receive a portion of the American dream that we on the Federal level have denied them from receiving all of these years.

Mr. BEILENSON. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. GIBBONS], the ranking Democratic member of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California [Mr. BEILENSON].

Mr. Speaker, the first thing we should do in starting the debate on as serious a subject as this is to puncture the myths that surround this debate. The first myth I would like to puncture is that the Democrats support the status quo. That is absolutely not true.

As recently as last year, I introduced and held hearings on a very substantial welfare reform program. Unfortunately, it ran into a hurricane of Republican filibuster, and it got nowhere. But it was not that we did not try.

Second, the myth is that the Democrats have held control of this since 1935 and we have done nothing except perpetuate poverty and the miseries of welfare.

That is not so. In the Johnson and Kennedy eras, we made substantial reforms in the welfare program, and we created such programs as Head Start and Upward Bound and the Follow Through Program and programs for aid to college-bound students and for those who should be bound for college but unfortunately could not go.

As recently as in the 1970's, a Republican President, President Nixon, sent us a comprehensive welfare reform bill that unfortunately we rejected. It came to us at a time when President Nixon was encumbered by the Watergate scandal, and the bill got polluted in that environment. At that time, it is important to note, the President suggested that we federalize welfare, that we not dump it on the States as our Republican colleagues would do today, and that we take the entire responsibility because he thought, and I think, that every child is a citizen of the United States and every child should have a government that cares for him in a humane way. That was the thought of President Nixon, and we unfortunately did not adopt it.

Well, as we all know, Reagan was elected in 1980, and so we did nothing

for 8 years. We could not even get a squeak out of him about making any changes in that program. But during the Bush administration, in 1988 we made substantial reforms to the welfare program and crafted in it the requirement of work. But it was put in there in a workable manner so that if the woman needed a job and was able to work and had to have child care because she just could not leave her child or her infant at home unattended, she could get that, or if she needed training, she could get that. So the myth that we in the Congress have done nothing except perpetuate this is, I hope, punctured.

Let us look at the bill before us. This is a cruel piece of legislation. It punishes the children, the innocent children, because of the errors of their parent or parents. It punishes them not just at birth but it punishes some for a lifetime, and certainly it punishes others through all of their childhood era. It will deprive them of the basic necessities for food, of clothing, of housing, of education, of love. That is what this bill does.

There is a better way, a far better way, and we have put that forward. We will have alternatives for this program on the floor here, but they will receive scant notice. They will have perhaps an hour or so of debate time, and then it will all be over. But this bill will never become law. There is hope out there that something sensible will become law.

Mr. Speaker, let us get on with the debate.

Myself such time as he may consume.

Mr. Speaker, of course, I take strong exception to the comments about the Republican filibuster in the last year. There is no filibuster in the House of Representatives. Rather, it is the Republicans who are taking the bull by the horns.

Furthermore, as to the bill, the punishment to our children is, if we do nothing, if we maintain the status quo, that is where the real punishment to our children comes from. Frankly, I think it is somewhat baloney when they say this bill takes away love from children and will leave children out there hungry, and so on, and so forth. I think that is political rhetoric, and we need to get beyond that to the meat of the bill.

In that regard, Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to my good friend, the gentleman from Florida, [Mr. GOSS].

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Colorado [Mr. MCINNIS], a new and hard-working member of the Committee on Rules, for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, we are today indeed launching a very historic debate on welfare reform, as Chairman GOODLING has outlined. We are going to be struggling with some of the most vexing and